2: Holmberg--113 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 514

"Except when defecating at the same time, both men and women stand up to urinate although the women spread their legs apart and lean slightly forward so as to spill as little urine as possible on their legs. Both sexes squat to defecate. After finishing, they usually back up to a sapling, spread the buttocks apart, and rub the anus up and down on the sapling to clean it. In case a sapling of the right size is not at hand a stick may be employed for this purpose. I never saw leaves or grass used as toilet paper except in the case of children. If a person gets a call during the night he may not clean himself at all before returning to his hammock."

2: Holmberg--114
116, 827, 522, 831

(1941-42) 1946

Siriono

"Not uncommon are such general complaints as that one was unable to sleep because mhia (countrymen) kept him awake with loud and frequent farts during the night, or that one was kept awake by the 'dancing' of the house caused by continual čuki čuki or sexual intercourse. Such gripes as these invariably call forth laughter from the rest of the group, and I was constantly warned not to sling my hammock to the house poles lest the rocking from čuki čuki keep me awake during the night."

2: Holmberg--158 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 832

"While lying naked in their hammocks, husband and wife are frequently observed fondling each other, and if desire mounts to a sufficient pitch (if, for instance a man begins to feel an erection), the couple may retire to the bush for immediate sexual intercourse. Under these conditions they show little concern for the observing public. I have heard men, and even women, suddenly overcome with desire, publicly call for their spouses to accompany them into the forest in order to relieve their sexual tensions. Public reaction to such behavior is one of amusement."

2: Holmberg--174 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 261, 152

"Nnia said to me one night, 'When someone comes near the house, women hide the meat; they cover it with leaves of patuju (wild banana). When you ask them where the meat is they tell you there is none. They eat in the night and steal off in the forest to eat. Women even push meat up their vaginas to hide it.'"

2: Holmberg--180 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 578, 831

"The Siriono say of a person in whom sexual desire is aroused that he is ečimbasi. To be ečimbasi is all right when sexual activity is confined to intercourse with one's real spouses, and occasionally with one's potential spouses, but one who takes flagrant advantage of his sex rights over potential spouses to the neglect of his real spouses is accused of being ečimbasi in the sense of being promiscuous. Such accusations not infrequently lead to fights and quarrels."

2: Holmberg--180 [2] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 151, 828, 831

"Romantic love is a concept foreign to the Siriono. Sex, like hunger, is a drive to be satisfied. Consequently it is neither much inhibited by attitudes of modesty and decorum, nor much enhanced by ideals of beauty and charm. The expression šečubi ('I like') is applied indiscriminately to everything that is enjoyable, whether it be food to eat, a necklace to wear, or a woman to sleep with. There are, of course, certain ideals of erotic bliss, but under conditions of disire those readily break down, and the Siriono are content to conform to the principle of 'any port in a storm.'"

2: Holmberg--180-181 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 832

"In general, men prefer young women to old. In speaking of their sexual affairs, men always express a fondness for a yukwáki (i. e., a girl of about the age of puberty), while they refer with [181] distaste to a konómbi sčikwa (literally, 'tortoise rump,' i. e., a woman who is old and has a wrinkled rump like that of a tortoise). The preference for youth is also clearly ntocieable among the women, who often have intercourse (obviously pleasurable) with their husbands' younger brothers before the latter have reached the age of puberty or before they have taken wives of their own."

2: Holmberg--181 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 826, 833

"Besides being young, a desirable sex partner--especially a woman--should also be fat. She should have big hips, good sized but firm breasts, and a deposit of fat on her sexual organs. Fat women are referred to by the men with obvious pride as ẽréN ekida (fat vulva) and are thought to be much more satisfying sexually than thin women, who are summarily dismissed as being ikáNgi (bony). In fact, so desirable is corpulence as a sexual trait that I have frequently heard men make up songs about the merits of a fat vulva. Unfortunately, I was never able to record them.

In addition to the criteria already mentioned, certain other physical signs of erotic beauty are also recognized. A tall person is preferred to a short one; facial features should be regular; eyes should be large. Little attention is paid to the ears, the nose, or the lips, unless they are obviously deformed. Body hair is an undesirable trait and is therefore depilated, although a certain amount of pubic hair is believed to add zest to intercourse. A woman's vulva should be small and fat, while a man's penis should be as large as possible."

2: Holmberg--182 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 515, 833

"Although love is not idealized in any romantic way by the Siriono, a certain amount of affection does exist between the sexes. This is clearly reflected in the behavior that takes place around the hammock. Couples frequently indulge in such horseplay as scratching and pinching each other on the neck and chest, poking fingers in each others' eyes, and even in making passes at each others' sexual organs. Lovers also spend hours in grooming one another--extracting lice from their hair or wood ticks from their bodies, and eating them: removing worms and spines from their skin; gluing feathers into their hair; and covering their faces with uruku (Biza orellana) paint. This behavior often leads up to a sexual bout, especially when conditions for intercourse are favorable."

2: Holmberg--182 [2] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 833

"Sexual advances are generally made by the men, who employ various approaches to obtain their end depending upon the circumstances existing at the moment. During the day, when there are people around, a man usually whispers his desires to a woman, and the couple steals off into the forest. If a man is out in the forest alone with a woman, however, he may throw her to the ground roughly and take his prize without so much as saying a word. During the night, when the Siriono do not venture out of their hut and when all sex activity takes place in the hammock, a man with desire simply waits until the house quiets down and then wakes up the woman with whom he wishes to have intercourse. At this time, of course, extramarital relations almost never occur."

2: Holmberg--183 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 513, 833

"Much more intercourse takes place in the bush than in the house. The principal reason for this is that privacy is almost impossible to obtain within the hut where as many as fifty hammocks may be hung in the confined space of five hundred square feet. Moreover, the hammock of a man and his wife hangs not three feet from that of the former's mother-in-law. Furthermore, young children commonly sleep with the father and mother, so that there may be as many as four or five people crowded together in a single hammock. In addition to these frustrating circumstances, people are up and down most of the night, quieting children, cooking, eating, urinating, and defecating. All in all, therefore, the conditions for sexual behavior in the house are most unfavorable. Consequently intercourse is indulged in more often in some secluded nook in the forest."

2: Holmberg--183 [2] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 515, 833

"Between married couples a good deal of sexual intercourse takes place in the late afternoon in the bush, near the water hole or stream upon which the band is camped. It is rarely indulged in more than once a day. When the afternoon meal has been eaten, and before retiring, couples often proceed to the water hole to bathe and, after bathing indulge in sexual intercourse. Unmarried couples and potential spouses, of course, must take advantage of whatever opportunities arise. A favorite spot for sexual indulgence between potential spouses, when there is one near the camp, is a patch of ripening maize, which is generally both near at hand and secluded."

2: Holmberg--184 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 833

"The sexual act itself (nyeméno or čuki čuki) is a violent and rapid affair. There are few if any preliminaries. Kissing is unknown, but oral stimulation is not absent; lovers have the habit of biting one another on the neck and chest during the sex act. Moreover, as the emotional intensity of coitus heightens to orgasm, lovers scratch each other on the neck, chest, and forehead, so that they often emerge wounded from the fray. Although people are proud of them, these love-scars soemtimes cause trouble (in cases of extramarital intercourse), because they are visible evidence of the infidelity of a husband or wife."

2: Holmberg--184-185 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 152, 827, 833

"During coitus in the bush, the woman lies on her back on the ground with her legs spread apart and her knees flexed. The man rests his knees on the ground between her legs; his elbows also rest on the ground on both sides of her body, leaving his hands free for scratching activity. The male plays the most active role during coitus, moving on the woman with considerable force and rapidity. The woman, however, does not remain completely passive, but adjusts herself to the movements of the man. Emotional pitch is intense during coitus, which is often accompanied by farting, a habit from which considerable pleasure is apparently derived.

When intercourse takes place in the hammock the positions are essentially the same, but it is more difficult to maneuver because of the added movement of the hammock. Sometimes during the height of the act a man's knees slip through the strings of the hammock and his whole emotional set is disturbed. Informants frequently made jokes [185] about their fellows in this respect. I even know one man who injured himself rather seriously when his knees struck the ground."

2: Holmberg--185 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 835

"Generally speaking, great freedom is allowed in matters of sex. A man is permitted to have intercourse not only with his own wife or wives but also with her (their) sisters, real and classificatory. Conversely, a woman is allowed to have intercourse not only with her husband but also with his brothers, real and classificatory and with the husbands and potential husbands of her own and classificatory sisters. Thus apart from one's real spouse, there may be as many as eight or ten potential spouses with whom one may have sex relations."

2: Holmberg--185 [2] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 585, 836, 881

"There is no taboo on sex relations between unmarried potential spouses, provided the women have undergone the rites of maturity. Virginity is not a virtue. Consequently, unmarried adults rarely, if ever, lack for sexual partners and frequently indulge in sex. In actual practice, sex relations between a man and his own brothers' wives, and between a woman and her own sisters' husbands, occur frequently and without censure, but intercourse with potential spouses more distantly related occurs less often and is apt to result in quarrels or lead to divorce."

2: Holmberg--185-187 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono-1
116, 152, 837

"Food is one of the best lures for obtaining extramarital sex partners. A man often uses game as a means of seducing a potential wife, who otherwise might not yield to his demands. A concrete case will best illustrate the manner in which this is done. Ačíba-sóke (Long-arm) had a potential wife, a classificatory cross-cousin, whom he had been trying to seduce for some [186] time without success; she had consistently refused him her favors for fear of provoking a quarrel with her husband. One day, however, when there was little or no meat in camp and the woman's husband was off on the hunt, Ačíba-sóke returned with his family from a chase on which he had been absent for several days and on which he had been successful in bagging considerable game, including a peccary which was very fat. His potential wife, being hungry, was most anxious to secure a share of the catch. She waited until Ačíba-cóke was alone--his wives had gone for palm cabbage and water--and approached him with the following request, 'ma nde šéri tai etima; šediákwa' ('Give me a peccary leg; I am hungry.'). He replied, 'eno, čuki čuki airáne' ('o.k., but first sexual intercourse.'). She replied, 'ti, manédi gadi' ('No, afterwards, no less'). He said, 'ti, námo gadi' ('No, now, no less'). She replied, 'eno, maWgiti?' ('o.k,, where?). He answered, 'aiiti' (There'), pointing in the direction of

the river. Both of them set out, by different routes, for the river and returned, also by different routes, the woman carrying firewood, about a half an hour later. He secured his prize; she hers.

Of course, a man is often frustrated in his attempts to secure extramarital intercourse by the methods indicated above. Failures in this respect, however, result not so much from a reluctance on the part of a woman to yield to the desires of a potential husband who will give her game, but more from an unwillingness on the part of the man's own wife or wives to part with any of the meat that he has acquired, least of all to one of his potential [187] wives. In general, the wife supervises the distribution of meat, so that if any part of her husband's catch is missing she suspects him of carrying on an affair on the outside, which is grounds for dispute. Consequently men try to pursue their extramarital intrigues as secretly as possible. Instead of attempting to distribute meat to a potential wife after game has already been brought in from the forest, they may send in some small animal or a piece of game to the woman through an intermediary, and thus reward her for the favors they have already received or expect to receive in the future. I know of two such instances in which a woman's brother played the role of messenger, and in a number of cases I too acted as agent for two lovers who were having difficulty in carrying out their affair. Fortunately, I was seldom suspected of collusion."

2: Holmberg--187 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 152, 578, 595, 837

"Fights and quarrels over sex are common but occur less often than fights over food. As has already been mentioned, such quarrels arise largely as a result of too frequent intercourse with a potential spouse to the neglect of the actual spouse; this is really what adultery amounts to among the Siriono. However much men are chided by their wives for deceiving them sexually, this seems to have little effect on their behavior, for they are constantly on the alert for a chance to seduce a potential wife with whom they have not had sexual relations, or to carry on an affair with a yukwáki (young girl) who has passed through the rites of puberty. In plural marriages, however, I rarely noted pronounced sexual jealousy between the wives, possibly because most plural marriages are of the sororal polygynous type."

2: Holmberg--188 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 601, 835

"In all sexual relations, basic incest taboos must be strictly observed. That is to say, it is strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with any member of one's nuclear family, except one's spouse. Among the Siriono these incest taboos are generalized to include non-family members who are designated by the same kinship term as those used for members of the nuclear family. Consequently one may not have sexual relations with a parallel cousin, with the child of a sibling of the same sex, with the child of a parallel cousin of the same sex, with a sister or parallel cousin of the mother, with a brother or parallel cousin of the father, or with the child of anyone whom one calls 'potential spouse.' In addition to these taboos, which are clearly reflected in the kinship system, sex relations with the following relatives are also regarded as incestuous: grandparent and grandchild, parent-in-law and child-in-law, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, a woman and her mother's brother's son, and a man and his father's sister's daughter."

2: Holmberg--188 [2] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 626, 835

"Violations of incest taboos are believed to be punished by the supernatural sanction of sickness and death. However, I never heard of a case of incest occurring among the Siriono, even in mythology. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that the sex drive is rarely frustrated to such an extent that one is tempted to commit incest."

2: Holmberg--188-189
116, 839, 881

(1941-42) 1946

Siriono

"Atypical sex behavior is also rare. I heard of no cases of rape, i.e., of intercourse with a girl who had not yet undergone the rites of puberty. When a man uses a certain amount of [189] force in seducing a potential spouse who has passed through the rites of puberty, this is not regarded as rape."

2: Holmberg--189 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 157, 839, 864

"Masturbation is likewise not a common juvenile pastime, and I never heard of it being practiced by adults. Children, especially boys, however, finger their genitals a great deal without censure, and when they are young their parents masturbate them frequently. Among the men the pattern of fingering the penis, especially tugging on the foreskin, carries on into adult life. Since it occurs most frequently when they are standing around, it is probably an automatic reaction to anxiety; when a Siriono is worried, he usually has hold of his penis."

2: Holmberg--189 [2] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 838

"Insofar as I could tell, only one man showed any tendency toward homosexuality, but this never reached the point of overt expression. By his fellows he was regarded more as a woman than as a man. He had never had a wife and spent most of his time with the women. He lived next to his only brother, was regarded as harmless, and made his living largely by collecting and trading some of his products for meat. I was able to get almost no information from or about him."

2: Holmberg--189-190 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 158, 839

"Only one other case of sexual perversion came to my attention, and this was of a man calle Etómi (Lazy). Besides being what his name suggests, Etómi had, according to the women, a sadistic mania for wounding them on the breasts during sexual intercourse. Consequently they would have nothing to do with him. He had no wife and was most uncommunicative. His favorite pastime--the reason for his nickname--was resting, which he managed to do a great deal of by the following [190] ingenious device. He was an expert at tracking tortoises. He would gather as many as ten of them at a time and hang them up alive on a beam in the house. He would then butcher one or two each day, meanwhile resting in his hammock, until the supply was gone. He spent long periods of time alone in the forest, and was one of the few Siriono out of whom I could worm no information whatsoever."

2: Holmberg--190 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 834, 841

"Chastity not being a virtue, there are few occasions when sex is taboo among the Siriono. During menstruation sex relations are forbidden, but during pregnancy they are recommended and indulged in up until before delivery."

2: Holmberg--190 [2] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 846

"Following childbirth, a woman refrains from intercourse for about a month, but there is no prescribed period after delivery that she must abstain."

2: Holmberg--190 [3] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 768, 834

"Following the death of a spouse, a widow or widower may resume sex relations within a matter of three days. There are, moreover, no other ritual or ceremonial occasions when adults are restricted from participation in sexual activity."

2: Holmberg--221 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 854, 863

"Of course, if a mother hears her infant fart or feels that he is about to defecate on her, she holds him away from her body so as not to be soiled, but about the only punishment that an infant is subjected to by defecating on her is that of being set aside for a while until she cleans up the mess."

2: Holmberg--225 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 842

"If asked the sex of her infant, a mother proudly holds up a boy and demonstrates his penis; if her infant is a girl, she contents herself merely with replying 'eréN' ('Vulva', i.e., female)."

2: Holmberg--225 [2] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 864

"Babies are tickled a great deal in the neck region and on the genitals. When they are nursing, their mothers often excite them sexually. The pleasure derived from play and fondling is often noticeably reciprocal. Nursing infants sometimes fondle their mothers' breasts and bring them into sharp erection. Not infrequently one observes a mother play with her young boys' penis until it becomes erect and then rubs it over her vulva. I have also seen men get partial erections while playing with the genitals of their infants."

2: Holmberg--225 [3] (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 831, 864

"Parents are very proud of a display of sexual desire on the part of their infants. One afternoon, Eantándu was fingering the penis of his young son who was sleeping. The boy got an erection. Eantándu called my attention to it and proudly said: 'eráNkwi eánta túti; čuki čuki etúbenia ekwázu mosé' (Very hard penis; when grown, he will have a lot of intercourse')."

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cardus, Jose, Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los Infieles de Bolivia. Barcelona, 1886.

Franziskaner Missionen, Jahresboricht des Franziskaner Missionsvereines Hall 1 Tirol, IV (1920), XI (1928), XII (1929), XIII (1930), XIV (1931), XV (1932). Innsbruck.

Heitzinger, L., Besuch der Siriencs Indianer in San Pablo und Ascensión. Tyrol, Franziskaner Missionen, 1928.

Herzog, Theodor, Beitrage sur Kenntnis von Catbelivion. Petermann's Mitteilungen, LVI, 136-148; 194-200. 1910.

Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses Écrites par des Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus, VIII, Paris, 1781.

Nordenskiold, Erland, Die Sirione-Indianer in Catbelivien. Petermann's Mitteilungen, LVII, 16-17. 1911.

Orbigny, Alcide D', Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale, III. Paris, 1844.

Estudios sobre la Geologia de Bolivia.
La Paz. 1907.

Fragment d'un Voyage au centre de l'Amérique Méridionale. Paris, 1845.
L'homme Américain. Paris, 1839.

Radwan, Eduard, Einiges über die Dirionos. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, LX, 291-296. 1929.

Rydén, Stig, A Study of the Siriono Indians. Goteberg, 1941.

Schermair, Anselm, Kurs Mitteilungen über die Siriono-Indianer im Ontlichen. Anthropos, XXIX, 519-521, 1934.

Snethlage, Emil Heinrich, Nachrichten uber die Fauserna-Guarayú, die Siriono und die San Simoniance in de Nahe der Serra San Simon. Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie, LXVII, 278-293. 1936.

Wegner, Richard N., Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland. Darmstadt, 1931. [294]

Wegner, Richard N., Die Qurufigu'a, ein neuentdecker Stamm primitivater Kultur in Catbelivien. Phoenix, Zeitschrift des deutschen wissenschaftlichen Vereins, Jahrgang 1928, 369-384. Buenos Aires, 1928.
Die Qurufigu'a und Siriono. International Congress of Americanists, XXIV, 161-184. Hamburg, 1934.
Ostbolivianische Urwaldetamme. Ethnologischer Anseiger, II, 321-340. Stuttgart, 1932.

2: Holmberg--293-294 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono-3
116, 113

Indianer-Rassen und vergangene Eulturan. Stuttgart, 1934.
Bemerkungen su dem Artikel von P. Anselm Schormair, O. F. M. Anthropos, XXIX, 814-817. 1934."